

DEROGATORY REMARKS ABOUT LINCOLN
DURING CAMPAIGN

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CAMPAIGN - 1860

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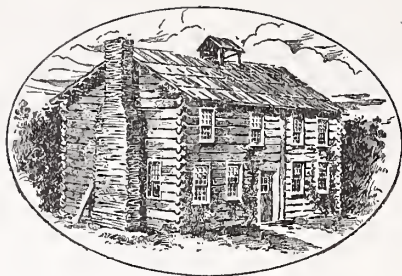
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Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

Derogatory Remarks about Lincoln during Campaign

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
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Jonathan Dayton
1760 - 1824

DAYTON, OHIO,

Page 18 of a Journal, Vol. 4,
Sept. 1, 1859 to Apr. 30, 1862,
kept by Daniel Lucien Medlar, a
clerk in Langdon Bros. Hardware
Store, N. Main St., opposite the
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Sat., Sept. 17th, 1859. The Hon. Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, who was defeated for United States Senator last fall, by S. A. Douglass, arrived at the Phillips House today noon, and in company with Hon. R. C. Schenck, of this place, Hon. Mr. Gurley of Cinti, and our would be Senator Cuppy, occupied a table, all by themselves, enjoying their wine and their jokes very extensively. Mr. Lincoln is a tall, slender, lean, dark complexioned man, with a long narrow head, a high and receding forehead, and with a pleasant expression on his countenance. He is rising of 50 years old.

He spoke in front of the Court House at from 2 to $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 o'clock, to an audience varying from three to five hundred people. I heard him but about five minutes. He has a thin weak voice, and is by no means an eloquent or forcible speaker. It is said by his friends here, that he made a very clear, sound and logical speech, characterized throughout by fairness and honesty. He was followed for a few minutes by Hon. Mr. Gurley. At 4 o'clock they left for Cinti. at which place Mr. Lincoln will speak tonight.

This evening Hon. Bob Schenck held forth to a large crowd in front of the court house, in a rambling speech of about 2 hours, reading copiously from his speeches, while he was a member of Congress in 1845, A ___ & 8 ___. He is now a Republican, and a candidate for the United States Senate, but will never be sent there.

Disorganization of the Republican Party.

The Republican party entered upon its first campaign of 1856, with well-defined principles, and a candidate about whose character there was an air of romance and adventure and public spirit which gave it a charm to the young and to the uninitiated in political arts. It was a dashing, brilliant campaign.

What a contrast do they not now present, with the parody of a platform and the caricature of a candidate!

To change front upon the eve of battle, to sacrifice a leader, a chief, in the hour of possible triumph, was alone enough to disorganise a party. But such a change!

We have never depreciated the genius or capacity of Mr. SEWARD. We do not intend to praise him now; nor to affect in his case, any undue or exaggerated sympathy. We see in the act which deposes him from his leadership something more than an affront and injury to a man. It looks as if no man could be permitted to rise to power, in this country, by legitimate means,—by the force of a great reputation and long continued civil services. It looks as if such a career was destined only to end in disappointments, and as if public honors were to be the reward of mediocrity and petty intrigue.

Mr. SEWARD falls, not because he fails in any degree to represent his party or his principles; but because he is the victim of the grovelling passions of mean men. The post of leader was offered to each of his followers, and after each was tempted away, all were combined against him. The theory that an unknown man would run better than a well-known one, was advanced to reconcile his party to the treason. Never was a theory, false at all times, so fatally misapplied. In a crisis like the present, when States are arrayed against States, and parties against parties, with almost the rancor of civil war, when the representatives of both sections daily meet in Congress armed with deadly weapons, it is idle to talk of the leadership of unknown men. What parties want, and what the people demand, is representative men for candidates.

No such revolutions in a party can be accomplished except by its disorganization. It is customary to cite the act of the Democratic party in 1844, in substituting POLK for VAN BUREN, as the Presidential candidate. But in that case, Mr. VAN BUREN's friends were allowed to name his successor; and the disorganization of the party was only delayed a few years, and was followed by its disruption and defeat, in 1848.

Mr. SEWARD was beaten; and Mr. LINCOLN nominated over him. The Republican party, less compact, already merely sectional, and incapable of surviving the least division, receives its death blow in the act. What can Maryland or Missouri do, to compensate for defection in New York, and discouragement all through the line of free States? Nothing. The men who played the farce of delegates at Chicago from these and other slave States, are objects of contempt and ridicule at home.

Yet they have set up their weakness against his strength; and he has fallen before them. Mr. SEWARD has been accused of intrigue; and his political managers have reputations for unscrupulousness seldom excelled. But they have never matched a device so hardy and so insolent as that by which he was overthrown at Chicago.

We shall leave to others to draw the moral of this. It is enough for us to say that fatal as it is to Mr. SEWARD, it is not less destructive to the authors of his ruin.

Republicanism not National.

In the course of the debate in the Chicago Convention on the platform, Judge JESSUP desired to amend "a verbal mistake in the name of the party." It was printed in the resolutions "National" Republican party. He wished to striko out the word "National" as that was not the name by which the party was properly known. The correction was accordingly made, and the word "National" expunged. In less than twelve months, this broken party will reform under a new name, in which the word "National" will be most conspicuous and most false.

PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.—By reference to our telegraph despatch it will be seen that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, was, on the third ballot, nominated for President.

Our report closes amid great excitement and enthusiasm to the Convention proceeding to ballot for Vice President. *We have no time or heart for comment.—Auburn Advertiser.*

The Boston *Courier* says that the disappointment in regard to Soward's overthrow, was hardly surpassed in that city by the feeling occasioned by Webster's defeat. So it seems to have been everywhere. Even the salutes that were fired were from guns loaded to announce the triumph of Soward. It was a farewell shot; and those who fired it announced their purpose to curse and quit the Republican concern.

Lincoln also opposed the Mexican war, and declared it unconstitutional and wrong, and voted against the bill granting 160 acres of land to the volunteers.

LINCOLN'S Congressional career was an inglorious one throughout; and consigned him to political oblivion for years. He is a man known more by his defeats than his successes; and his career in this respect is to be completed by a crowning defeat in 1860.

Seward's Overthrow - Lincoln's Rise.

The Boston Post, after exposing the coarse and vindictive abolitionism of Lincoln, goes on to say:

Mr. Seward has large knowledge of men, varied experience, statesmanship, and possibly might control the element which he so boldly summons; Lincoln has merely talent for demagogue appeal that was thought to be worth in New England fifty dollars or a hundred dollars a speech by those who hired him, but some who heard him were surprised that he should be considered anywhere a great man. He can only be the tool of the fanatical host he will lead on. This is the truth of the case, let the blowers of his party swell him as they may into tremendous dimensions. By this means, and by imitating in every locality the trickery and demagoguism that won Lincoln his popularity, and at length the nomination, his partisans may attempt to secure his election. But such is the intelligence of the country that this attempt must fail.

This nomination calls anew on the Democracy to unite its strength and save the country such an infliction as would be a triumph of such a candidate. With such an opponent as Lincoln in the field they have but to make an acceptable nomination at Baltimore to win the day gloriously.

Oct 21 1860

The last remark I make is: What are the qualifications of Abraham Lincoln to be President of the United States? (Cheers) What are they? They have given us his portrait. They say that it is a fair likeness of Abraham Lincoln. Well, I do not know that how a man looks has anything to do with his qualifications; but this thing struck me, that if Lincoln looked like his picture, and if it is not a most infernal libel upon him, he would split a rail by looking at it. (Boisterous laughter and applause) That is only my opinion. Ah! say they, he is a very smart man. What has he done? Ask John McKeon, and Henry Nichols, who were with him in Congress, whether Abraham Lincoln showed himself to be a statesman or whether he was as dumb as a lamb before the shearers. (Laughter) I ask the republican party to tell me what Abraham Lincoln has done; what new principle he has advocated, what great theme has ever come from his lips? He is a very respectable man, I have no doubt—as far as I can learn, a very respectable country lawyer. I do not mean to speak against lawyers at all—(laughter)—I mean to say that in this room there are a thousand men who would make as good a President as Abraham Lincoln. Why, gentlemen, I could furnish you with 50,000 men to New York as good as he is a negative man—not a representative man. I saw on a placard that Abraham Lincoln would speak for two shillings for any cause. That, gentlemen, is no recommendation. He had one speech with which he went throughout the country; he made a tilt with Douglas, and Douglas beat him. (Cheers) I, therefore, say this: let Abraham Lincoln, as a lawyer, split hairs; as a backwoodsman, let him split rails; but I protest that, as a President, he shall not try his hand in splitting the Union. (Loud applause) My last remark (and pardon me for keeping you so long) I have now come to. Ah, say they, Abraham Lincoln is a very honest man—a very, very honest man, indeed. Why, I suppose his honesty will make him carry out the pledges to his party; he will carry out all he promised them. Then you will see the black political flag raised, of free labor against slave labor. And as no man dreams that the Southern States will make us slaves, it follows, as a necessary consequence, that Abraham Lincoln, if honest to his party means to do his best that the free men of the North shall make free the laboring population of the South. (Cries of "Never" and cheers) That is his promise. But, again, they say it may have another meaning—that he is peculiarly honest. They mean to say he will not steal. All I can say to that is this. When God was putting out his vengeance against Sodom, he told Abraham if he could find ten honest just men in Sodom, he would spare it for the sake of the ten. The ten men were not found, so Sodom was burned, and the Dead Sea now rolls its waves where Sodom was. Just so, the republican party. There was an old philosopher by the name of Diogenes. Diogenes lived in a tub, and he thought all men rogues. One night he took his lantern and went about; "Diogenes," said some acquaintance, "what are you looking for?" "an honest man," said Diogenes, "and I have not found one yet." Now the republican party has played the part of Diogenes; but they think they can save the republican party by having found one man who will not steal. (Laughter and cheers) Do you not understand why they speak about his honesty? Cast your eye at the acts of the republican legislation of last winter in this good State of New York, and I put this question to you, did they or did they not steal? (Cries of "Yes, they did.") Did they not steal your franchises, worth millions of dollars? Now I am done, and I give you one piece of advice to all: you live in a splendid city, a noble city an empire city, as well as a noble State. I am surrounded by citizens of all climes, all customs and all countries. I have here my friend from Ireland, I have there my friend from the beautiful banks of the Rhine, and the blue Mosel, from Norway, Sweden, France and England. I call upon all adopted citizens to stand up and vote against Abraham Lincoln, or you will have negro labor dragging you from your free labor.

... was held, at which Wm. H. Seward was tried in the balance and found wanting, and his fate was then and there decided on and written out, but not made known or published. It was not, indeed, till one fine, bright morning at Chicago, when Seward's friends and suitors were looking up with confidence and congratulated themselves that he would be the next President, that all of a sudden the sentence of the philosophers was read to the assembled multitude, and Billy Seward was repudiated, and Billy Seward was divorced, and the old woman took a new husband to herself—a remarkably handsome one too at that—no Abraham Lincoln, the rail splitter from Illinois. (Great laughter.) Now this was a great abuse, for it was found that Seward really never had originated the great idea of the irrepressible conflict, and that his speech at Rochester which announced the irrepressible conflict, or that idea in it, was one which he had stolen from Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, and that therefore he was not the original Jacobus. (Laughter.) But that Abe Lincoln was the first who had given birth to the monstrous idea of the irrepressible conflict, and that he was consequently the true man—the true anti-slavery man. (Applause) And this old black lady—Anti-Slavery kicked Billy Seward overboard—(laughter)—as not half handsome enough for her, and Lincoln's portrait was exhibited all over the country, to show the exquisite taste she had in changing the old love for the new. Now, to be serious about the matter, Seward made a conservative speech, and announced just as much as to give rise to the probability that he might really be trusted by the country as President and made known to his silent, lawless, Union-hating partisans, that he could not be trusted by them. They turned away from him had they selected a man in his stead of whose principles there is no doubt. But Seward has taken his revenge. He has gone forth as the champion of Lincoln, and the champion of anti-slavery. He has buried his conservative speech, and now he utters not one conservative word. He travels through the country as the avowed undisguised champion of the irrepressible conflict as against the rights and interests of the South, and places Abraham Lincoln before you truly and fairly as the champion of the doctrine—a man who will not receive one single vote in all the fifteen States.

10/10/1860

THE IMPENDING CRISIS.

GREAT SPEECH OF WILLIAM L. YANCEY.

The Commercial Side of the Irrepressible Conflict.

THE RIGHT AND DUTY OF SECESSION, &c., &c., &c.

The large hall of the Cooper Institute was filled last evening with an immense audience, assembled to hear an address from Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabama. About eight o'clock a gentleman came forward on the platform and called for three cheers for the son of the sunny South—nationality and democracy blended in one—our friend, Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabama. The audience responded with vociferous cheers.

Mr. GUSTAVUS W. SMITH then came forward and said that the national democracy of the city and county of New York had, through its authorized agent, invited the Hon. Wm. L. Yancey, of Alabama, to address them. Mr. Yancey had accepted, and had named the earliest time consistent with his previous engagements, and was now here to night, in compliance with the invitation of the committee, to address the assembled citizens of New York, and, through the telegraphic wires, the whole people of this great confederacy. Mr. Yancey had been requested to speak on the political issues of the present canvass. That the meeting might proceed in order, the speaker nominated the Hon. Judge Jas. Green, of New York, as chairman.

The nomination was ratified by acclamation, and Mr. Green took the chair.

LETTER FROM JAMES T. BRADY.

The following letter from Mr. James T. Brady was read amid various demonstrations:—

New York, Oct. 9, 1860.

DEAR SIR—It would give me very great pleasure to attend the meeting of the Breckinridge and Lane party, to be held at the Cooper Institute to-morrow night, but I cannot do so, as I am to speak at West Troy in the evening, in support of our principles and the Union of our States. I regret that I cannot hear Mr. Yancey, whose eloquence has won him a reputation as extensive as our territory, and whose views on the important questions now agitating our country will be delivered in the attractive and forcible manner by which his oratory is distinguished. I am sure that our people will turn out in great numbers to receive him, and will give him the hearty and enthusiastic welcome which a stranger of merit is sure to obtain in the city of New York.

Permit me, as I am thus called upon to communicate through you with the meeting of our friends, to say that, in common with all of them, I am, as I always have been, ready to adopt any honorable course to insure Mr. Lincoln's defeat in this State, but not on condition of surrendering or qualifying any part of our platform, or abandoning our State organization. I neither desired nor expected to be nominated as Governor by the national democracy, but I will cheerfully abide the fortune of the canvass, whatever its issue may be. If our ticket received a vote not greater in number than that of the man who signed the Declaration of American Independence, or who met in the first Convention which adopted the constitution of the American Union, I would deem the small cohort of patriots by whom I was thus supported as more worthy my admiration than the most powerful host ever assembled to advocate more expediency, or gather up the spoils of a victory sought only for its own sake. But even if I were influenced in my personal course by mere suggestions of policy, it would not differ from what it now is, for to me it is a most obvious certainty that Mr. Douglas and his incoherent notions about slavery in the Territories will, at the close of this canvass, be obsolete, and that there can be no national democratic party in this country hereafter which does not approve and advocate the doctrines promulgated in our platform.

To the gallant men of our noble State who adhere courageously to our cause, I promise the exertion of all the capacity I possess to insure our principles and candidates an ardent and effective support. Yours, very truly,

J. T. BRADY.

Mr. Yancey was then led forward and introduced to the meeting. He was greeted with loud and long continued cheering. There were some slight hisses and other unfriendly demonstrations, but they were promptly suppressed.

SPEECH OF WM. L. YANCEY.

Mr. YANCEY proceeded to address the meeting. He said:—Fellow citizens of New York, I trust that an Alabamian may yet speak to the citizens of New York in the language of fellowship. I trust that the hour is not yet arrived in which, when an Alabamian speaks to his brothers of the city and State of New York as brothers, it will be a subject of jeering and of hissing. We ought to be brothers, if

we are not. There ought to be a brotherhood of citizenship throughout this vast country which would knit together its social and its business relations in bonds so strong that the fanatics of the whole world could not burst them. ("Good!" Loud cheers.) I am not unaware, gentlemen, of the delicate position which a speaker from the far South occupies who, in this hour of an excited political canvass, undertakes to speak in one of the Northern States words of truth and of justice for his section. (Cheers.) But I believe, my countrymen, that truth and frankness at all times will win their way to hearts that are swayed by truth, by generosity and by justice. (Applause.) I do not disguise from you—I would not have it otherwise—that I speak to you here to-night as a Southern

man. I speak to you here to-night for the home that I love better than any other home, for the State that I love better than any other State, for the section that I love better than any other section—(cheers)—my own. And surely it may not be amiss to speak these words in this spirit to a brave people who love their own homes and their own State, and their own section, better than they do others. But I trust they have—and I desire to-night to inculcate in their bosoms that they shall have—a respect, and loyalty, and an allegiance, to the common law and bond that bind us together in one Union. (Applause, and cries of "Good.") I feel, too, the difficulty of addressing a popular audience in this canvass in any other strains than as the advocate of the election of Breckinridge and Lane, whose friend I am. (Cheers.) But, my countrymen, events have happened—the wires are bringing the news to us now that the great State of Pennsylvania, to which good and conservative men have looked for safety in this canvass, has given way, and is about to cast its vote for a sectional candidate, on a sectional issue—a candidate all of whose sentiments are at war with the constitution of our country. (Cries of "That's so.") I therefore feel it my duty to-night to try to rise above any party aspects of these questions. These aspects, great and interesting as they at all times are, sink into insignificance beside that other question that has arisen yesterday and to-day, if it did not exist before—our loyalty to an endangered constitution and an endangered Union under the constitution. (Cheers.) Therefore, passing aside the mere claims of men, passing aside these mere questions of party politics, and endeavoring to rise to the dignity of this great question—the safety of the country under the constitution—I address you to-night in behalf of that union of good men which was inaugurated here in the city of New York, and whose influence will, I trust, extend wide over this vast State, till it produces a conservative majority in favor of the constitution and the Union. (Cheers.) In speaking, my countrymen, in behalf of this great issue, I shall necessarily have to deal with the fate of my section. I shall necessarily have to deal with her position in this Union, past, present and prospective. I shall necessarily have to deal with her relations to the constitution and the Union, and her relations and connections with you in this section of the country. It is another mistake that is made by some men—good men, doubtless, judge in it, but it is no less a mistake—that the South, on the great issues that divide the North and South, has been an aggressive South. Far, very far, from it. The readings of history, the teaching of your own age and your own experience, all disprove it. The South asks nothing of this government but simple protection from wrong. (Cheers.) She claims, and she must have it, and (with much emphasis) she will have it. (Tumultuous cheering.) She must have, and she will have, a recognized equality in the Union, or she will take it out of it. (Cheers.) We desire, my countrymen, the Union of the constitution. We know no other. Convince us—as very possibly it might be done, and I am very far from thinking it can not be done—that we can be a more prosperous people outside of the Union and of the constitution, and the Southern mind will reject it. The South is loyal to the compact which her fathers made with your fathers, and that compact she means to defend against all comers, whether in a majority or a minority. (Tumultuous cheers.) She claims only equality within the Union, not asking of this government one single act that will aggress on any right that you have. Ready at all times now, as she has been in the past—and it is a part of her glory to refer to it—to defend your rights when assailed, whether from abroad or from within, the South has occupied in this canvass and in times past, on all issues affecting her peculiar institution—slavery—a defensive position. Never has she been aggressive. I defy the astutest deceiver of those who attack her to point to one historical act of legislation which she has asked that is aggressive on the rights of this favored section. (Cheers.) It is quite common here to say that the South was aggressive in repealing the Missouri compromise. It was my lot to be in the public councils when that compromise was proposed three different times by southern men to be applied to the Territories of Oregon and New Mexico—the territory acquired from Mexico. Three different times was that compromise proposed by Southern men.

Here there were some demonstrations of hostility among the audience. There were cries of "Put him out; he's a disorganizer."

Mr. YANCEY said:—No, let him alone. Gentlemen, I want him to hear some truth. (Cheers.) He then proceeded. Three different times did Southern men propose this compromise, and three different times, while I was in the councils of the country, did Northern men vote it down. Up to the final admission of Oregon, in 1843, was that compromise proposed again and again, and again and again was it rejected by the House and by

Northern men. They claimed the Wilmot proviso to be the law applicable to the Territory. They claimed that they should have all. The South, while recognizing the injustice done her under the Missouri compromise, was willing to stand by and adhere to the idea which appeared to be the settled policy of the country. The convention which was thought to be a convention of ultra men—the Nashville Convention—proposed again the Missouri compromise as the measure by which the South would stand. But finding that this compromise repeatedly proposed by her was rejected by those who had the control of legislation in one of the branches of the government, the South threw herself on her constitutional position in the government, on the principles of the constitution which made them equal in the Territories; she demanded an equal showing in the Territories, and she never demanded more. (Applause.) It does not lie in the mouth of men who propose to take all of the Territories, and to exclude the owners of 4,000,000 of slaves from settling in these Territories, to say that the South is aggressive, when they take from the South the privilege of forming more slave States out of the vast and magnificent domain of our common country. (Applause.) Now, friends, we do not stand upon compromise. We stand upon something far higher than compromise—something more sacred than compromise. (Applause.) We stand upon the constitutional compact made by our fathers with your fathers, and we take that compact as it was interpreted by them, and by the Supreme Court of the United States; and with this faith the South takes her position, and from that position she will not recede, nor will she be driven so long as there is a Union worthy of being preserved. (Loud applause.) What is that constitutional position? It is this. We are the owners of four millions of slaves. How did we get them? We have inherited them from the men of the Revolution, who fought the battles and wrote the Declaration of Independence, and maintained their principles by the spilling of their blood and the sacrifice of life, courage and personal welfare. We have received this system of labor as an inheritance from those men who, after the Declaration of Independence, wrote the constitution. Now, in that instrument provision was made not only for the increase, but for the safety and protection of the slaves as property. But at this day it is propounded in high quarters, and as a higher law, that there is an irrepressible conflict in the constitution between free labor and slave labor, and that that conflict must go on until Southern institutions and Southern citizens are all destroyed. Gentlemen, there is an irrepressible conflict between that gentleman and his policy and the writings of our fathers and the compact which they left us. (Applause.) In that irrepressible conflict all those good men who love the Union and the constitution, and love justice, truth and their neighbors at the South, must stand by that constitution, or else they will be recreant to the principles of constitutional loyalty. (Applause.) Now, what has the constitution done for us? Our fathers were not only slave owners, but they bought slaves in Africa and imported them into this country. When the framers of the constitution were drawing it up, Virginia desired to get rid of slavery, but Massachusetts and several other States desired that it should be carried on—(laughter and applause)—and Massachusetts and the other States that joined with her succeeded in engraving into the constitution a provision that the slave statute should not be abrogated by act of Congress, nor any amendment of the constitution, before the year 1808. (Applause.) Under the constitution all other clauses not those relating to the slaves could be amended, if the people desired it; but the friends of the slave traffic were so strenuous in favor of it that those is a distinct provision of the constitution that the clause relating thereto shall not be amended. In fact it was beyond the reach of constitutional amendment. It was a fundamental provision made by our fathers, one with the other, that it should not be altered nor amended till 1808. How does that stand with the doctrine of the irrepressible conflict? To me it appears that there is such little agreement between two things, that the constitution knocks the irrepressible conflict on the head. That our fathers provided for the increase of this institution is beyond all doubt. They were not satisfied with the 400,000 slaves which existed at the commencement of the Revolution, but demanded that that number should be increased by importation until the year 1808, and in that year no less than 100,000 were imported into the country under the authority of the constitution, and it is the descendants of these slaves who are now scattered through the Southern States. And these are the slaves guaranteed to us by the constitution, whom Mr. Seward and Mr. Lincoln propose to take away from us by infamous legislation. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, what our fathers deemed a thing so sacred that they demanded a constitutional guarantee for its increase, continuance, and protection as property, should certainly be no less so to their sons, and they, therefore, hold that they shall not be robbed of their slaves under any form of law. (Applause.) Not only did our fathers provide for the increase of this species of property, but for its safety against attacks which are made upon it to this day. It has often been said that the constitution of the United States is inspired with something almost Divine. Those great men who framed it for the common good seemed to have known what would be the ultimate fate of the negroes in the North; they seemed to have foreseen that they would die out in the colder States of the North, and that, as a consequence, they would seek to locate themselves in the more genial regions of the South. Such has been the fact. And our fathers were not ignorant either that the Southern States seeking to mislead the slaves; and therefore they took the precaution of inserting in the constitution the provision that all fugitive slaves should be given up, and made it incumbent on the States that they should aid in the execution of the laws, and that they should cause all escaping slaves to be surrendered. Therefore, while there were provisions for the increase and spread of this institution, its protection was also amply provided for. Now, the law is given to government for carrying out its great mission, the

protection of life, liberty and property. Our fathers increased the power of protection, and this was done by the constitution. It was further given to the slaveholding States for three-fifths of their slave population. Although the slaves are not citizens under the form of our government, yet our fathers had a three-fifths representation by virtue of their possessing these slaves. But then they were organized as property for taxation, and under the constitution direct taxation is to be imposed in the proportion of three-fifths of the population. Here, then, is the constitutional increase of the institution of slavery; also the safety guaranteed to it under the provisions of the Fugitive Slave act. It is an acknowledgment of property to be taxed as such when the government chooses to derive a revenue from it. Under this compact the South has existed and prospered, and you in the North, in conjunction with the South, have derived much benefit from the existence of slavery. It has been said that the South is not prosperous owing to this institution, and they undertake to compare the North and South in a very invidious manner. I do not desire to make any such invidious comparisons. I rejoice in the prosperity of this section. I rejoice that the North is a great, a prosperous, an intelligent and a happy people. Also that my section is not behindhand in any of those qualities in a nation which make up a true and great manhood. (Applause.) When the Revolution commenced the South possessed a population of 812,000 whites and 450,000 slaves. The North, on the other hand, had 1,900,000 whites and 47,000 slaves, making in the aggregate about a half a million of slaves between the two sections. How is it now? According to the best statistical statements, taken from official sources, there are now in the Northern States eighteen millions of whites, and in the South eight millions of whites and four millions of blacks. Now this will show that population in the North and South has kept pace very well together. In fact, the North has not quite come up to the Southern ratio in the increase of population; and this, notwithstanding the great advantages in this respect which you have had from four millions of foreigners—a benefit which does not extend to the South. The natural increase of the South surpasses the natural increase of the North, and it is remarkable that the natural increase of the slaves is equal to their masters, considering that they are in a sickly country, exposed to the noonday heat of a Southern sun, and the masters are protected by the exemption from real manual labor. Yet the black population, notwithstanding all the difficulties under which they labor, and which are incident to their condition, have kept pace with those who are in happier circumstances of life. It proves that our institution is well calculated to improve their condition. They are not treated with cruelty nor tyranny as a general thing, although in all communities there will be found hard men. I have no doubt it is so in New York, but not greater than it is in the South, though to an equal extent. Now, these facts about the census cannot be denied. Figures, they say, when properly arranged and calculated, do not lie, although I believe they can very often be located in such a manner as to tell very big lies. (Laughter.) Look, then, at our industry, and it will favorably compare with yours, although you in the North are peculiarly an industrious people. Yet the men of the South, like those of the North, have not been wasting the time that God has given them. Look at the exports of 1843 and 1849. There has been a large amount of surplus production from the two sections, which we did not require for our own uses, but exported to foreign countries, and it is well known that a nation is generally judged by the quantity of surplus products which it exports to other parts of the world. There was exported last year from the whole country products to the value of \$85,894,000; fifty-seven millions of which were in specie, leaving an excess of produce and actual labor, the value of \$27,292,000 for the year ending June 1859. Now, of this vast quantity of property, it will not be interesting to inquire how much has come from the greatly despised Southern section, where it is said that labor meets with no reward and that everything is demoralized with the white and black man. What is it? Let the agitators and political speculators look at the actual figures. The North exported \$5,231,000 exclusively, with produce amounting to \$89,000,000 and \$160,600 in ice. There was exported in that year \$34,417,000 of mixed productions common to both sections of the country, as to North Carolina, Tennessee, Mississippi and Illinois, Ohio and other States. Now, it is deemed a fair calculation that the North has one-third of that. The whole product then is \$138,632,000; of this the following is the proportion of the articles exported:—Cotton, \$161,434,000; tobacco, \$21,074,000; rosin and turpentine, \$8,564,000; rice, \$2,207,000; tar and pitch, \$141,000; brown sugar, \$26,000; molasses, \$5,000; hemp, \$9,000. (A voice.) "Hemp is still growing, I hope." A gentleman says he hopes that hemp is still growing. I am glad that hemp yet grows, and I am only sorry that there is not much more of it. (Loud laughter and applause.) What is the result of these figures? They show that the South in the fiscal year alluded to exported \$217,000,000, and that the North exported only about seventy—no, not seventy, but about sixty-one millions of dollars, exclusive of the amount of specie shipped from California, which add about one hundred and ten or one hundred and twelve millions, and the exportations of the South are, therefore, nearly double. Now the agitators, speculators and others would do well to think of this, and it would be right for these philosophers to study the figures before they undertake to abuse my section of the Union. In the present year the results are much larger in favor of the South, as \$105,000,000 is the increase of the cotton crop. It will be found that this is not an isolated case. The cotton crop is more extensive generally than in previous years. But no matter how far this may go, the results will show that there has been large increase in the production of tobacco, rice, &c. On the whole, the South produces more than the North, including the specie from California. This shows that this institution is valuable, not only to the South, but to the North. The property you have derived is great, and you have your legitimate share in it. Mr. Quincy spoke at some length concerning the differences existing

between the climates of the North and South, and of the capacity for active labor possessed by Northern men, as well as of the beneficial results flowing from these fraternal relations. This labor is the means of producing much wealth from the South, and while the white people of the North can undergo continuous labor, those of the South, exposed as they are to the heat of the climate, cannot do so. No white man can work in laborious occupation under the scorching sun of the South. The merchant here in his countinghouse works as well and hard as his clerk to whom he pays \$1,000 or \$1,500 annually, and with a far greater sense of responsibility. The commerce of the North and South in its rapid development has also been the means of producing wealth to both sections, in the friendly competition with other countries in carrying merchandise abroad. New York is the great heart of the whole commerce of the country. Commerce has its seat here—large headed and large-hearted commerce—and here it takes these products and dispatches them, two thirds through this part of the country, and then over the world. (Applause.) The prosperity of the whole country depends on the advancement of New York. (Applause.) Now, then, look at your coasting trade. Look at it, and you will find that it is a most gratifying spectacle. Then see what are the demands of the South. The South asks nothing from you here but that you will not allow anybody to steal away her negroes. (Laughter and applause.) Enlarge your jails and penitentiaries, reinforce and strengthen your police force, and keep the irrepressible conflict forever from stealing our negroes and we are satisfied. (Applause.) Now, is there anything unreasonable in that? (Voices, "No, no.") It is the voice of reason; it is the voice of loyalty; it is the voice of common sense—which those speculating theorists do not have. (Applause.) Now, I say that we ask nothing else. When the South comes and asked you to protect her cotton? Gentlemen, we defy the world. England, with all her acknowledged power in the world, is seeking a spot in which to make cotton—and aggression probably for the very purpose of making a nation after a nation, whose fertile soil and climate are fitted for trying the experiment. England, after all efforts, has raised cotton at a cost of fifty cents a pound, which she has sold in the market in competition with American cotton at ten to fifteen cents a pound. We seek no protection against competition with the cultivation of tobacco and rice. The peculiar products of Southern labor defy the competition of the civilized world. The South in that respect is independent of the world. (Applause.) Now, how is it with you? I know you will bear with me when, in a friendly way, I undertake to trace the history of legislation as regards Northern labor. How often has New England beseeched Congress to give protection to her cotton and woollen manufactures? How often has protection been asked for your iron manufactures? And you, gentlemen, hence in New York, Boston and Philadelphia have got protection to your shipping interests. Just think of it a moment. Nobody can compete with you for our carrying trade. Let the English or French ships anchor by the aid of a Yankee skipper in the harbor of Mobile. I write to them my 150 bales of cotton, and I say to the English captain, "What will you give this to New York?" "For a dollar a bale," says he. Can I find it by him? "The Yankee, along side, says, 'I will take it for two dollars a bale.'" What am I bound to do? To give it to the Yankee skipper, because our coasting laws protect the shipping of the Northern States to the exclusion of all others. Consequently your shipping is encouraged. The carrying trade is almost exclusively bound to the exports of the South. England, France and Holland cannot compete with you, owing to your laws. Now, we got no such law protecting our industry. We don't deal in shipping—you do. And yet we do not complain. Now, how is it with you? There is a tariff of four to twenty per cent on your cotton and iron manufactures. To be sure we derive a revenue from them, but you derive also a premium to your labor, and consequently the labor of the North, that I have been comparing with that of the South, has the benefit of a premium given to it by this tariff. The South has no such benefit—she asks none. She can afford to let you have all that. (Applause.) I know some of our Southern friends complain of this, and say it is not exactly right. South Carolina you know once brought us very near the verge of dissolution in consequence of what she believed to be a discrimination between the industries of the country. But that has passed away—there is comparatively mutual understanding now. We have come somewhat near to a substantial agreement about these matters. Less protection is demanded now than formerly. You can compete much easier with foreign industry than formerly, and by-and-by, perhaps, you will be able to throw it off in the coastwise trade. But the fact remains that your Northern labor demands and receives a premium from the government, and that Southern labor receives none; and yet it outstrips the labor of the North in a fair contest. (Applause.) Now this protection is very valuable to you, and it is also valuable to us. It is valuable to the whole country; and I do not mention these facts for the purpose of inducing in your minds any fear. Let us see this cent per cent. I trust you are not on that level in which your loyalty can only be measured by the amount of money you make out of this government. (Laughter and applause.) Now if this is the result, then comes up another question. This mutual interchange of commodities throughout our vast country—the gold of California, the grain of the West, the manufactures, the commerce—that more? What a sound magnificent basis is presented in these States for a prosperous Union under our glorious constitution! (Applause.) We aid each other with a proper sense of brotherhood—a proper sense that we are citizens of the same country; that we have a like common protection, and should deal on justice to each other, with an equal hand—not raising up this section in the expense of any other—knowing no section, but dealing with them all in the spirit of justice. That spirit should exist throughout the land. But this cry of the assailed that now resounds

throughout your borders, from the rock-bound coast of Maine to the Golden sands of Oregon—this cry of the assailed which, it is said, is made by a majority of your people, that this great institution, in itself worth \$2,800,000—worth incalculably more than that when all its social relations which are interwoven with it, and which must go down if that institution is destroyed—this cry of the assailed of this great and valuable institution, now presents no aspect. I ask you, gentlemen of New York and of this Northern section. I ask you, an integral portion of the eighteen millions that has been held up in terror by one unwise braggart son of your section as able to conquer eight million. (Cries.) I ask you, my countrymen, what benefit will it be to you to have all this vast industrial and social relation of the South destroyed? (Applause.) But it is not to be destroyed. It is said that cotton which is so valuable, which builds up the South and the North, which keeps the world agitating, out of which nationalities make their profit, derives their comfort—that this incomparable article can be raised by white labor. How utterly absurd to any man who knows anything of our climate, of our system of labor and of the necessities of the cotton product. We have a temperature in the summer ranging in the open air from one hundred and ten to one hundred and thirty degrees Fahrenheit. No white man can stand labor under that burning sun, and they do not. The owners of the slaves seek your genial climate. They fill all your wintering places; they fill the hotels of this vast metropolis; they travel all over your rivers and lakes, and stop at all your places of resort, seeking not for recreation, but to get rid of the miasm, the fever, the hazards of life that are incurred in the hot Southern climate in the summer months. And how do the overseers avoid these things? They protect themselves with all the care that a man can who does not labor. They often go to the field with umbrellas over their heads, or seek the shade of a friendly tree, while they see the slaves working in the broiling sun without a hat or anything to protect their heads. Why, the negro can almost, like the eagle, look the sun with the eye. (Laughter and applause.) These glorious sons of toil, who are satisfied with their condition, love their masters, contribute to the wealth of the world and are the best population under the sun, if these philosophers will only let them alone. (Great laughter and applause.) Bilious fever and congestive chills are things peculiar to a climate where heat and moisture prevail; and great heat and moisture are necessary to the cultivation of the cotton crop. But the diseases which heat and moisture generate do not affect the black man. He moves among them perfectly unharmed. He is fitted for such a climate. Hard labor and the privations incident thereto do not destroy the negro. Of course, they are under the command of a master, who gives them their food and their clothing, and from the natural selfishness which is common to all men, they are occasionally kept at work longer than they ought to be. We do not pretend to deny these things. But with all that the census shows that these people increase as fast as the whites. Take their rate of increase since the Revolutionary War and compare it with that of the whites, and see if it is not so. This shows that the climate is fitted to them and they to the climate. Not so with the white race. I have lived in the South. Several years ago I passed over a road leading to Tuscaloosa, in Alabama, called the Old Line Creek road. It is a level cotton region. When I went to Alabama, in 1836, what do you think that was called? It was called the Widow's road. There was not a male head of a family living there. The women lived because they were not exposed to the noonday sun nor the night air. Being engaged in household duties they escaped the mortality that carried off nearly every man living on that road. I mention this to show you the nature of the Southern climate. No man exposes himself to the heat of the sun without great danger, and we have to take great care of our children from the white man's heat stroke. I have seen a child die of the negro sun. But even something that the white man can stand it, he cannot make a cotton crop. It is planted about the 1st of April—the last week in March and the first week or ten days of April—and from that time till the crop is gathered—which is not before the 1st of January, if there is a fair crop—there is not one week of intermission—not one week that the laborer can be spared without danger and loss. Continuous labor is absolutely necessary for the safety and preservation of that plant all through the heat of summer. The cultivation of cotton is remarkable. I have seen a field of five or six hundred acres in some of our best cotton growing counties in which there was not a spear of grass to be seen. The cultivation requires more care and attention than any of your garden produce, and demands regular, continuous, persistent labor. Now, don't you know that white labor is not continuous and persistent during the whole season? Look at your strikes. What do you think the effect of one like that which took place in the town of Lynn amongst the shoemakers would be among the cotton crops of the South? Why a hundred millions would be lost to the world; possibly a revolution in England and all the civilized world, owing to the want of this cotton. (Applause.) Therefore, I say, in view of the independence of white labor, striking off when it pleases for better wages or forcing the community to give better wages, seeking for more general employment, going off, it may be, to some more inviting region, that with white labor the cotton crop of the South could not be raised—such labor could not be depended upon. Instead of having four and a half millions of cotton bales, as now, if we depended on white labor, in my opinion the product would not amount to two million bales. How could the civilized world spare two and a half millions, merely to gratify these speculating philosophers? (Laughter and applause.) So, then, gentlemen, this institution is necessary to the civilization of the world, is necessary to your property as well as ours. It is an institution, too, that doesn't harm you—for we don't let our niggers run about to injure anybody—(laughter)—we keep them—they never steal from any of you—they don't trouble you even with that peculiar negro stench which is very good in the nose of a Southern man, but intolerable in the nose of a Northerner. (Laughter.) None of these things trouble you. The police force that we require troubles only ourselves; the expense of maintaining it is ours, and, by the by, that reminds me of an interesting item you ought to consider. The number, have to take care of

the slaves. Now, what you suppose is the cost of the clothing of these four millions of negroes, which the North furnishes? The cost is some twenty millions of dollars. Twenty million dollars' worth of cotton and woolen goods are bought in the North; and not only that, but five millions in the shape of axes, hoes, chains, iron castings, &c., are paid to the North for the purpose of carrying on our industry. The South does not choose to devote her labor to these things. She is willing to raise what she can and sell it at a fair price; and then to go to you and buy that which you can raise cheaper than herself. They spend in the Northern States on an average ten dollars for every negro per annum, which would be \$40,000,000. And these forty millions of dollars Mr. Seward sneers at, and thinks it folly to regard the trade as an important one. He would not legislate of course in relation to it, and Lincoln, I presume, would never think of making it a material subject of consideration in the way of legislation. They want to carry out their peculiar theoretical views in relation to religion and morals. (Laughter.) Well, I hope, gentlemen, as you are said to be a very conscientious people, descended from the Puritans and also the Dutch—(laughter)—who are a conscientious people—I hope that you will entrust the legislation upon morals and religion the great Ruler of the universe, and won't let Lincoln and Seward have anything to do with it. (Great laughter.) Now, those gentlemen who are disposed to legislate for material interests are not going of course to consider this institution as one of that class, no matter how much you suffer. They scoff at the merchants of New York who talk about usion for the purpose of serving the country and its industry. I may be mistaken, but I am ready to sit at the feet of philosophers who will teach me better—but my idea is that the government was instituted to protect material interests alone—that it is not a school for ethical theories—that we are all to worship as we see proper, and that our morals are to be in no ways meddled with, except that we shall be required to act with decency and order. All these things are left to the individual consciences and to the consciences of public opinion governing the States. Government deals alone with the material interests of life, and is designed for the protection of the liberty of our own citizens and of their property. It sets up no school of morals or religion, touching the right of one man to hold another in bondage or his fathers settled. Our fathers settled the right to hold the negro in bondage for his labor—not, of course, to hold property in man. I do not hold property in any black man as a man. As a man he belongs to my State, and is protected by it. My State says, "You shall not give him an unusual or cruel whipping; if you do, I will fix and imprison you—one or both, at the discretion of the judge or jury. As a man you shall feed him and shall not starve him; if you do not give him a fair allowance you will be indicted. It is a misdemeanor and you shall be punished for it." As a man I may work him and exact a proper degree of labor, and no further. I cannot take his life or injure his limbs; if I do I am liable to the same penalties as if it were a white man.

A Voice—Suppose, as a man, he runs away. (Laughter.)
Mr. YANNEY—Then I recover him, because the constitution says he shall be delivered up. (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, the negro has got legs, you may be certain, and when any of those speculating philosophers go down South they make him think he is one of the worst used people in the world, and perhaps he runs away, and after being half starved in the briars and braided as comes home hungry and ragged, and is glad to go to work again. (Laughter.) Running away negroes is a common thing. Now we have horses that run away. (Laughter.) Does that deprive them of being property? If any man takes a runaway horse and appropriates him, the law calls it theft. So with a negro. Now I wish you to enforce that law when my negro runs away. (Applause.) Now I say this institution is essential, and I will give you a Southern man's view of the position which we, as defenders occupy, and the position in which our assailants stand, as we conceive. They say there shall be no more slave States—that that is in accordance with the spirit of the constitution and the teachings of the fathers. All the vast territory which belongs to the government and which the Supreme Court has said the government holds in trust for the people of the several States—for Alabama as well as New York shall be kept clear of slavery. There is an area of territory belonging to the United States large enough to form twenty States equal to New Jersey or Maryland, and even, I believe, South Carolina. In all this territory the South is to have no share whatever in settling it with its property. The South wants the advantage of a community of young and sister States around her to sustain her against the conflict of sectional position; she wants the advantage of a spread of their institution, which the figures show you is as much for your property as for hers. In other words, if there are to be no more slave States, the general prosperity is to be curtailed in precisely that proportion. (Applause.) I will consider the question hereafter of what the teachings of the fathers is upon this question. I am now making a statement of what I consider to be the point of assault which the South is undergoing. Again, they say that the slave trade between the States shall be abolished; that they have a right to do so under the constitution. Now, that slave trade between the States is incident to its life and prosperity. Consider a man to one spot and say you must make a show right here, and no where else, and would that man prosper and thrive and be a benefit to the community and himself? You know it is not so. Trade should be allowed to seek its own mark and level. Otherwise you are interfering unconstitutionally and improperly, and pursuing a bad policy in regard to trade. It needs to be entirely unobscured. The great idea of the world at this time is for free trade. Now take away the right to sell out slaves and you destroy the value of our property to that extent. It is so in regard to any property. Again, they endeavor to nullify the fugitive slave law, and twelve States have passed laws to that end. They mean to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, in the arsenals and dockyards.

A Voice—"Who says so?"

Mr. YANNEY—The abolitionists and black republicans say so. I call them all abolitionists. (Loud applause.) I know no distinction. Seward says so, Lincoln says so. Lincoln first enunciated the irrepressible conflict. (Applause.) Put him in power and he will build up an abolition party in every Southern State—there is no doubt of it. There are men there who will take office, and will come to sympathize with his views in time, and so we shall have a democratized public opinion among our people. Merchants postmasters and other federal officers will sympathize with Lincoln and the irrepressible conflict. (Applause.) With the election of a black republican all the South will be renounced. Emissaries will percolate between master slave as water between the crevices of rocks underground. They will be found everywhere, with stymph-hino to put in our wells, as is the case now in Texas. (Laughter and hisses, followed by long and loud applause.)

When the general manifestations of disapproval which followed the speaker's allusion to the poisoning of the wells in Texas had subsided,

Mr. YANNEY resumed—Gentlemen, there are various modes by which ideas are expressed. Men have tongues, and they speak reason; others have tongues, and they hiss. (Laughter, and a voice, "Put the strychnine follows out.") As I was saying, that in Texas it was proved beyond all doubt that men were taken there prowling about, some of whom were called levellers, upon whom were found all the means and appliances of exciting the slaves there to insurrection. Pistols and bowie knives, and boxes of ammunition, were found in huggies, and of various kinds in different places, and such quantities also of strychnine were found as to excite wonder as to where in the world it all came from, and where on earth it could have been all manufactured. But there these things were found, and for what purpose do you think? Of carrying on the irrepressible conflict in the underground way they have of doing those things—of carrying on the irrepressible conflict not in the open face of day—not meeting the Southern men face to face—but carrying it on in the darkness of the night, with the torch lighted to burn and destroy, with the springs and wells poisoned, and the slaves secretly excited and urged to insurrection. At this moment we have the slaves in insurrection in Alabama and Virginia, and in various other States. In many places the thing is showing itself, and it will spread, too, under the action of these marauding bands who are scattered over the country, and who are so fanatical as to imagine that they are doing a good and just thing in carrying on the irrepressible conflict between the sentiment of freedom and the sentiment of slavery. So that you see the South is in a dangerous condition, and that the torch, when applied, will come in contact with a very inflammable article, and it will be a wonder if the institution be not blown up by the torch of the incendiary. Thus we are attacked in every relation of life by men with power and senses enough to do incalculable injury to us. Our property destroyed; our social relations unsafe; our slaves incited to insurrection, and our persons and property unsafe. Do you tell us to get rid of the cause of this state of things? No sooner do we get rid of it than you destroy the prosperity of the South. Then comes the question, what will the South do under these circumstances? Will the South submit? Some men imagine that she will. I do not. (Applause.) But gentlemen, suppose for a moment that the South will submit. Granted that the South does submit. Granted that she thinks that the mere form of the constitution is enough for her, even while the spirit of it is dead, even while property is unprotected and the lives of her people unsafe—although her property becomes a desolation—her wealth scattered from her—her fields burned up—her industry destroyed—what will be the result? We become like St. Domingo or another Jamaica. We can but expect the same results as England has experienced from her attempt to get her slaves free, and to endeavor and expect to insure the same degree of prosperity with those slaves free as when they were slaves in bonds. The experience of England and all other countries on the face of the earth is, that if you free slaves you can get no work from them. All the evidences of history show that to tamper with these slaves is to open a path for bloodshed, civil war and desolation. (Applause.) If these results follow to us, what results will follow to you? Desolation also, to a great extent. The employment of your shipping gone to the extent of three-fourths, your warehouses deserted and empty to the same extent, and your merchants deserted. Take away, in fact, two hundred millions of dollars from the three hundred millions, and New York will feel the effect; so will Boston and Philadelphia, and every manufacturing city in the country, with all their great interest, all will share in the general desolation of the South. You will also feel the desolating effects of these things, though, perhaps not to so great an extent as we of the South. But it is not the destruction of property alone that is to be considered. That is the least of the evils we would have to deplore, which will follow the march of the irrepressible conflict. There is the terrible war of races. It is the terrible conflict between four millions of blacks and eight millions of whites. It is that conflict which destroys civilization, and which will make us the enemies of that race until we drench our fields with the blood of the unfortunate people. One or other of us must go to the wall. That indeed would be an irrepressible conflict. (Applause.) Therefore, I say, that if ever the South did submit to those things, you share in the evils that must follow. We may be destroyed, but you will be less powerful, less happy and less prosperous. And thus, I presume, this irrepressible conflict—this great storm of destruction and desolation will effect, you as well as us. You may master us—you may outvote us, and take away from us our social relations, and leave us desolate, but you yourselves will be in part vanquished by the very means you employ to triumph on the rights of a majority; and the sacred relations of society—turn them loose, but however you do not meet the fate of Alecton, who was devoured by his own dogs. (Applause.) You have a society that needs to be actuated by loyalty to law—that needs to be imbued with loyalty to the fundamental principles of government—that needs the restraints of law to keep these observances

of the law, and obeyers of it as self working machines. But, allow the elements of destruction, which underlie your whole social system to be disturbed—loosen the bonds which bind them—withdraw the restraints which control them at present, impair in their minds all reverence to law and constitutional authority, and no power on earth can save you from destruction. Then, I tell you, there would be such an upheaving of society as was never heard of before. It would be like the terrible hursting forth of a volcano, whose fiery lava would overwhelm and destroy you. (Applause.) But I have said that the South would not submit. I have said that the South would not and ought not to submit to any curtailment of her constitutional rights and equality—(applause)—to any denial of her rights in the government. (Continued applause.) It is true she is in the minority. Under the forms of law, you could do as you pleased against her interests. But was the constitution made for you to exercise your will at pleasure? Was it made only that the majority might oppress the minority? (Cries of "No.") What was the constitution made for but as an express assurance that the strong should not oppress the weak and trample them down? (Applause.) The constitution was an assurance to the man who had property that he should not be robbed of it—an assurance to the minority that the majority should be governed in all things by the written law and not by the higher law. (Applause.) Now you on the North think that you can do without the constitution in one particular. So far as your relations with the South are concerned, you can do without the constitution. Why? Because you have the strength and power of the government at your back. Because you have one hundred and eighty-three electoral votes to one hundred and twenty. If you put section against section you have sixty-three of a majority over us. You have more votes than we have, and therefore you have a majority over us in the Senate. You have more votes than we have, and therefore you have a majority over us in the House. Having more votes than we have, you can elect your own President—you can reform the legislature and the judiciary. You have power in all the branches of the government to pass such laws as you like. If you are actuated by passion or prejudice, or by a desire of self aggrandizement, it is in your power, as far as physical power goes to outnumber us and commit aggression upon us, and therefore I say you can do without the constitution. Then with a majority in every department of the government, what have we to look for for protection? Not to numbers—there we are too weak, but have we no rights, or have we no rights but such as are subject to your will—but such as you may chance to give us. If so, then I say this is a most despotic and tyrannical government of ours—a government—a despotism of the millions—and for my part I would deem it better and prefer to live under the despotism of an enlightened king than live under the despotism of the million. (Applause.) Then the South has but one thing to look to for protection—that is the constitution. (Applause.) The constitution was made for her protection. The constitution was a compact entered into on the understanding that the majority should govern and legislate according to certain laid down rules—by the laws as received from the hands of Washington and the other patriots of the Revolution—by laws specified in the constitution. (Applause.) Will the South permit you to trample upon the constitution as given to the country by the patriot fathers—the constitution which was to-day as it was then. Your fathers then agreed to allow that our fathers should, in all three to come, be governed by the provisions of the constitution. You may alter it, you may change it, because you have a superior physical force to us; but there is a certain feeling within the breast of every Southern man; that feeling is loyalty to the fundamental institutions of the land; loyalty to the pride of the Southern heart; to this very sense of that loyalty, and to these fundamental principles of the government and constitution are your appeals. (Applause.) Mind you, the South asks for nothing that is not her right. She claims nothing from you that is not her due. She stands upon the platform of the constitution where you stand—our peers, your equals. (Applause.) Whenever you propose by a system of hasty process legislation indirectly to undermine or get rid of the constitution, or to carry it out according to the mere will of the majority, the South will hold up that instrument to you and say to you, by this you must be guided, and will further say to you that so long as you are loyal defenders and observers of the constitution you are our brethren. But attempt to set it aside, to destroy it, to trample it under your feet, then I tell you by that first act of aggression, of invasion upon our rights, we are free and independent. (Applause.) Gentlemen, God has given that instinct to the poor worm that when it is tread upon it will turn against the foot that tramples it. We, thank God, are men, not worms, intelligent men, who know our rights and who dare to maintain them. (Applause.) In the advocacy of our rights we do not assail, nor do we in any way trench upon your rights. In our advocacy of our own rights we simply ask of you gentlemen, to curb your will, restrain that passionate desire for the advancement of power, let not a mere feeling of pride create and force an enemy against us. Rise to the high elevation of good and wise men, who will do to others as they would have others do unto them. (Applause.) I have been asked here to night certain questions, which I deem it right to answer now, at the present. One of the questions is, "Would you consider the election of Abraham Lincoln as President a sufficient cause to warrant the South in seceding from the Union?" The second is, "Whether, in the case of Mr. Lincoln being elected, and any of the States attempted to secede, would you support the General government and the other States in maintaining the integrity of the Union?" The first question is a speculation—a political speculation, at that. It has nothing to do with the canvass. I am here, however, aiding you to prevent such a calamity. I am honestly endeavoring to maintain the integrity of the government and the safety of the Union at the ballot box. (Applause.) I am here to aid you in trying to prevent the election of Abraham Lincoln, the author of the irrepressible conflict; and if others as faithfully do their duty, he will never be elected. (Applause.)

I am asked, and have been asked before, whether I consider that the election of Lincoln would be a just cause for the secession of the Southern States? That is a matter to come after the ballot box. (Cheers and derisive laughter, and cries of "Answer the question.") Be quiet, gentlemen. Hear me, hear me. (Great excitement and tumult—cries of "Order, order," from the platform.) Don't be impatient, gentlemen. (Increasing disorder.) Don't be impatient, and above all things keep your temper. (Laughter and applause.) This is not the time to fight, certainly. (Laughter.) This is the time to vote and to consider how to vote.

A Voice.—Let us have an answer to the question.
 Mr. YANCEY.—You are impatient, my friend. What is the matter with you?

An excited individual on the platform—"Put him out."
 Mr. YANCEY.—If gentlemen are so desirous of knowing my opinions, they ought to abide by my decisions when they are asked. (Cheers.) This thing of asking advice of a man, and then not taking his advice, is a monstrous poor way of getting along. Now, I am going to say this about it. This question that is put to me is a speculation on the future. It is what I consider would happen in the event of something else happening. I hope to God that that will never happen, and that the speculation will never come to a head. (Applause.) I am no candidate for the Presidency, my friends who wrote these questions, though some of you seem to have thought so, judging from the manner in which you have treated me and Mr. Breckinridge. I am no candidate for any office, and I do not want your vote. But I would like to advise with you and get you to vote for a good man—for any man, I do not care who it is, excepting one of the irrepressible conflict men. (Loud roars of applause.) In the first place, there is no such thing as the South seceding. I do not know how she would go about it. (Cries of "Good," and loud cheers.) There is such a thing as a State seceding; but the South seceding is a thing which I cannot comprehend. I do not know how the South would go about it. I do not think it could ever happen; and, therefore, I have got no answer to give as to what the South should do. Now, then, I am a citizen of the State of Alabama. I am what is called a States rights man. (Cheers.) I believe in the rights of my State. The constitution of my country tells me that certain powers were given to the general government, and that all which were not expressly given, or were not necessary to carry out the powers granted, were reserved to the States and to the people of the States. My State has reserved powers and reserved rights, and I believe in the right of secession. (Excited cries of "Good.") Virginia and New York were parties to that compact. When the question was presented, the State of Virginia expressed her willingness to join under the compact. The State of New York also did so through her Convention. It was provided that if nine States assented, it would be a government for those nine and for all the States that would sign the compact. Therefore, the compact was a compact between States mutually assenting, without any assent, if any dissent, there was no provision to force them into the Union. Therefore, I believe in the right of a State to go out of the Union. If she thinks proper, the State of Alabama, in her last General Assembly, passed a law requiring the Governor, in the event of a black republican being elected President of the United States to secede, within so many days after he ascertained that fact, a convention of the people of the State, for the purpose of considering the question which is here presented to me. It is a question for the decision of my State—I cannot decide it. As one of the citizens of Alabama I shall abide by the decision of my State. If she goes out, I go with her. If she remains in, I remain with her. I cannot do otherwise. (Laughter and cheers.) It is a grave question for any citizen to consider whether he will dissolve, or aid in dissolving, the bonds which connect his State with this government. It is a grave question, but one which I hope God in his providence will keep me from considering, by the safety of this government in the election of some man opposed to this "irrepressible conflict" party. (Cheers.) But when the time comes for me to make up my mind, I will have deliberate consultation with my fellow citizens in Alabama. You in New York have nothing to do with it, nothing. Whatever deliberations you choose to have, as citizens of New York, on the fate of your State, will be for yourselves. I have no interest in that question except incidentally, and have no right to advise with you or say anything to you about it. But upon this Presidential question I have a common interest with you, because it is the election of one to administer the government for the next four years—for my State as well as for yours. Therefore it is a common question, about which I can consult with you. But whether my State or any other State will go out of the Union is a question which it will be for that State itself to determine. It is not to be determined by arguing it before the election. It would be a grave matter for me to commit myself here, to a crowd in New York, to say policy that might be influenced by after events, by surrounding circumstances, by the expressed sympathies of large majorities of the people of New York or other States with the South. For me here, merely to gratify some political antagonist, to express any opinion on that point would be folly; it is the wildest folly to expect that I will. That opinion will be rendered to the people of my State whenever they ask for it. (An individual on the platform—"Three cheers for the answer.") Now, I am asked one other question. I am asked whether if any portion of the South secedes, I will aid the government in maintaining the integrity of the Union. Yes, my friend, the integrity of the Union. (Cheers.) I am now struggling for it. I shall struggle for it to the day of election. The integrity of the Union I shall struggle for with my life's blood if required. (Enthusiastic cheers.) But if this questioner means by the integrity of the Union the preservation of an administration that shall trample on any portion of the rights of the South, I tell him that I will aid my State in resisting it to blood. (Great cheering.) The common rights of resistance, wrong which belongs to the wrong—those rights are not the rights that were meant to be secured by our fathers in the Declaration of Independence, when they cut themselves loose from

despotism and the despotic ties of the old world. The perfidious Union has got the right of revolution. The hog has got the right to resist if you try to put a knife to his throat. (Cheers and laughter.) The right of revolution is the poor man's right. It is no right at all. It is only the last expiring throes of oppressed nationality. (Tumultuous cheering.) Yes, gentlemen, there is the poor, degraded people, that for centuries has groined under the armed heel of a powerful despotism, that knew no rights in the masses save the privilege of rendering up their hard earned earnings, in order that the masters might revel in infamous and criminal luxury and wealth. Poor Italy is trying to raise up her bleeding and bruised body, and is now, perchance, on one knee, and, with mangled hands, is yet struggling for the great right of revolution. (Cheers.) Have our fathers provided no better fate for us? Yes, they have. They have made this a government existing upon the will of sovereign States—a compact between sovereign States, not made States by force, not made consolidated masses by the conquering march of a hero, with his army at his back and his sword thrown into the scale, where the will of the conquered is not consulted. That is not our form of government. Ours is a form of government that the people have willed. It is self government. It is a government where States have willed to make a compact with each other; and whenever that compact is violated, which is there higher than the States? Who is more sovereign than the parties to the compact who have reserved rights guaranteed to them? There are rights reserved to these States; the constitution itself guarantees them; and there is the great right that rises above revolution—because it is the right of humanity, the right of civilization, the right of an intelligent public opinion, the right of freedom—and that is, that when governments become oppressive and subversive of the objects for which they formed, then, in the language of our fathers, they have the right to form new governments. (Cheers.) Governments should not be changed for light or transient causes, but whenever the whole property of an entire community is swept away by a policy that undermines it or deals it a death blow directly, when the social relations of an enlightened, virtuous, Christian people shall be utterly destroyed by a policy which indignantly undermines them and produces inevitably a contest between castes and races; when these rights are trampled upon and the people see that the attack upon them is coming, they will not wait until the policy is clinched upon them. The very moment their equality is destroyed in the government under the constitution, then, in my opinion, it becomes the duty of the State to protect its people by interposing this reserved right between the acts of the general government and its people. And when it does that, if Abraham Lincoln, or any other man who aids Abraham Lincoln, or any other man in the Presidential office shall undertake to use federal bayonets to coerce a free and sovereign State in this Union, (Answer that question as an individual because it does not involve my State), I shall fly to the standard of that State and give it the best assistance in my power. (Great cheering.) But consider for a moment where we would be. Suppose Georgia should determine to secede in the event of the refusal to admit a slave State into the Union. Georgia has deliberately resolved by her ordinance in convention—and it is a fact of her constitution and irreparable, save as the constitution is repealable—that in the event of a refusal to admit a State into the Union because it is a slave State, (and that is a part of the irrepressible policy) it shall be the duty of her governor to call a convention of the people together, and it is made their duty to go out of the Union. That is the law of Georgia, and she will resist to the utmost, and sever the last tie that binds her to the Union. Now, suppose Georgia goes that—that she goes out of the Union. She does not hurt you. She does not trespass upon your rights. She takes nothing with her that belongs to you. She takes nothing but what belongs to her. She merely withdraws from the government. Suppose that the federal army were told to march against her, and the navy told to blockade her ports, and suppose that Georgia should be conquered by these eighteen millions—is she then a free and sovereign State in the Union? The constitution says that she is. But will she be so? She will be a conquered province, with a standing army to keep her down—a standing army, supported by taxes levied upon you, to keep a free and sovereign State in military subjection. Georgia would not then be a State in the Union. She would be a conquered province of the Union. Would the Union then be a Union of the States, a Union under the constitution, a Union of States free and equal, based on the mutual consent of the people? No, it would be a military despotism. The very moment such a thing occurred the whole character of the government would become revolutionized, and the Cabinet itself would do, what Georgia had not done by withdrawing. Georgia by withdrawing, leaves you free, sovereign, and equal States in the Union, and she herself free, sovereign and equal out of it. But to force that State into submission, to keep her a conquered province, dissolves your constitutional government, inaugurates a military government, provides for a standing army, and entails the evils that follow in the train of a standing army. But, gentlemen, this is the time, this is the place, this is almost the hour, for you to decide—what? That your constitution and your government shall not be put to such desperate straits. This is the day and hour almost for you to decide that, as men, you will not bring about a course of events where you will have to protect your Union by bayonets, but that you will, as wise men, protect it at the ballot box. That is the genius of the country. And how are you to do it? Vote for some party or some candidate that acknowledges that the Southern States are equal in this confederacy—that they are entitled, at least, to protection in this confederacy—that they shall not be trampled upon—that no rights shall be torn from them—that they shall have equal rights in forming new States and in the admission of new States; that they shall have free and equal chance given to their industry and civilization; that the civilization and industry of the North shall march side by side with the civilization and industry of the South, in a generous, noble and enlightened spirit of

emulation, and that the bayonet shall not be thrown in the scale of the North, as the sword of Bronnus was when the fate of Rome hung in the scale. (Applause.) Give us a fair showing. It is all we ask. Give us an equal chance with you. It is all we ask. Trample not our civilization and industry with your schemes of emancipation, your schemes of abolition, your schemes of occurrence raids upon us. Give us the showing we give you. Hands off! Meet us in a generous rivalry, and he who contends in the strife is a conqueror indeed, because the victory will be given to him as the just meed of superior sagacity, superior intelligence, and superior virtue; and whenever you get to be superior to the South in these things, gentlemen, we will bow in reverence before you. (Loud applause.) And now, my friends, let me close. (Cries of "Go on.") The events of yesterday press heavily upon me. I acknowledge I have no exultation. I feel none. I can feel none. I feel that the constitution is weighed down beneath these heavy majorities. I feel, gentlemen, that the hour progresses in which these tests must be applied, which tests may be attended with the rending of the ties that bind us, in the dissolution of the government that has made us happy and prosperous, and in the destruction of that general prosperity which is the admiration of the civilized and Christian world. I feel it, gentlemen. The keystone of the arch of the Union is already crumbling, and that great fabric rests on the shoulders of New York. (Cheers.) In the hands of New York is the decision of the question. A more weighty question never was before you. One freighted with the fate of societies and of nationalities is on your mind. Peace, prosperity, union, the constitution, the blessings of Christian liberty may depend upon the vote of New York. That vote may crush all these things. That vote may perpetuate these blessings. That you may be equal, gentlemen, to the great responsibility of this occasion, in the prayer of him who addresses you, and who now bids you, respectfully, farewell.

Loud and continuous cheering saluted Mr. Yancey as he retired.
 Before the meeting broke up, a vote of thanks was given to the Breckinridge State Committee for having withdrawn the electoral ticket of that party.

NOVEL WRITING MATERIALS.—The Atalanta (Ga.)
Locomotive says:—

The real proprietors of the soil, have written upon
their hearts, *with clinched teeth*, "Abe Lincoln, so
help us Heaven, shall never be our President!"

Mud Throwing 62 Years Ago

Because of the terrible firing of the mud batteries during the present presidential primaries there are many timorous souls that believe that no candidate has ever been so bitterly assailed as his favorite. True, the presidential primary has led to political methods that are condemnable, but, nevertheless, they are not entirely new. The North American Review has collected some of the utterances when Lincoln ran for the presidency.

Attack on Lincoln.

From the Albany Atlas and Argus.

"May 21, 1860.—Mr. Lincoln was first heard of in politics a year ago last fall, when, limping with wounds and howling with anguish, he was driven through the state of Illinois by Douglas and defeated with tacit approval of the majority of his own party, and with the publicly expressed congratulations of Greeley, Weed and others. Last spring he made his debut in this state as an orator and commenced charging for his speeches at the rate of \$100 apiece, and was forced to desist amid such public expressions of contempt that he may be said to have been fairly blotted out of the state. He has never held public office of any credit and is not known except as a slangwhanging stump speaker of a class with which every party teems and of which all parties are ashamed."

From the New York Herald.

"May 19, 1860.—The republican convention at Chicago has nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois for President of the United States—a third rate Western lawyer, poorer than even poor Pierce. They pass over Steward, Chase

and Banks, who are statesmen and able men and they take a fourth rate lecturer, who can not speak good grammar, and who, to raise the wind, delivers his hackneyed illiterate compositions at \$200 apiece. Our readers recollect that this peripatetic politician visited New York two or three years ago on his financial tour; when, in return for the most unmitigated trash, interlarded with coarse and clumsy jokes, he filled his empty pockets with dollars coined out of republican fanaticism."

"May 21, 1860.—The candidate for President, Abraham Lincoln, is an uneducated man—a vulgar politician without any experience worth mentioning in the practical duties of statesmanship, and only noted for some very unpopular votes which he gave while a member of congress. The comparison between Steward and this illiterate Western boor is odious—it is as Hyperion to a satyr."

Boston Makes Attack.

From the Boston Post.

"May 21, 1860.—Lincoln has merely a talent for demagogue appeal that was thought to be worth in New England \$50 or \$100 a speech by those who hired him; but some who heard him were surprised that he should be considered anywhere a great man. He can only be the fanatical tool of the fanatical host he will lead on."

Mud throwing is as old as politics and politics began when there were two men, and one of them wanted office.

Cheer up, O ye Doubtful, for the worst is yet to come—wait until we get into the campaign proper, and not a mere primary campaign, and then it will be time to run for the cyclone cellar.

THE DAILY LEDGER, TACOMA, WASHINGTON,

FRIDAY, JULY 12, 1912. TION.

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WHEN LINCOLN RAN

There Was a Lot of Mud Throwing in
Politics.

[North American Review.]

Because of the terrific firing of the mud batteries during the present presidential primaries there are many timorous souls that believe that no candidate has ever been so bitterly assailed as his favorite. True, the presidential primary has led to political methods that are condemnable, but nevertheless, they are not entirely new. The North American Review has collected some of the utterances when Lincoln ran for the Presidency.

From the New York Herald:

"May 18, 1860—The Republican convention at Chicago has nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, for President of the United States—a third-rate Western lawyer, poorer than even poor Pierce. They pass over Seward, Chase and Banks, who are statesmen and able men and they take a fourth-rate lecturer, who cannot speak good grammar, and who, to raise the wind, delivers his hackneyed, illiterate compositions, at \$200 apiece. Our readers recollect that this peripatetic politician visited New York two or three months ago on his financial tour; when, in return for the most unmitigated trash, interlarded with coarse and clumsy jokes, he filled his empty pockets with dollars coined out of Republican fanaticism."

May 22, 1860—The Candidate for President, Abraham Lincoln, is an uneducated man—a vulgar village politician without any experience worth mentioning in the practical duties of statesmanship, and only noted for some very unpopular votes which he gave while a member of Congress. The comparison between Seward and this illiterate Western boor is odious—it is as Hyperion to a satyr."

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"May 21, 1860—Mr. Lincoln was first heard of in politics a year ago last fall, when, limping with wounds and howling with anguish, he was driven through the state of Illinois by Douglas and defeated with the tacit approval of the majority of his own party, and with the publicity expressed congratulations of Greeley, Weed and others. Last spring he made his debut in this state as an orator and commenced charging for his speeches at the rate of \$100 apiece, and was forced to desist amid such public expressions of contempt that he may said to have been fairly hissed out of the state. He has never held public office of any credit and is not known except as a slang-whanging stump speaker of a class with which every party teems and of which all parties are ashamed."

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123. (LINCOLN). Reily, Edward. Political Boss of Kentucky. A. L. S. Folio, three full pages. Covington, Ky., February 10th, 1860, to John Reddick, who has just moved to Springfield, Ill. UNUSUAL POLITICAL LETTER. Tells him WHY HE MUST NOT VOTE FOR LINCOLN, and at the same time gives a fine pen sketch of Lincoln, in contrast with Douglas, Breckenridge and Bell. SUCH LETTERS ARE RARE. 13.75.

*Reily, Edward
Political Boss
Covington, Ky.
Feb 10th 1860
John Reddick
Springfield, Ill.*

Klement Recalls Democrat Foes' Attacks on Abe

By LOUIS W. BRIDGMAN

(Secretary Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin)

The Lincoln now belonging to the ages was far from deserving that pinnacle in the estimation of his political enemies in wartime Wisconsin, when he became the victim of political attacks seldom paralleled for viciousness.

These assaults were narrated here Monday night by Dr. Frank L. Klement, of the Marquette University history faculty, in an address on "Lincoln's Critics in Wisconsin" at the annual meeting of the Lincoln Fellowship of Wisconsin at the First Congregational church.

The speaker was introduced by Prof. William B. Hesselstine, of the University of Wisconsin department of history, under whom he took his graduate work for the doctorate in Madison. Master of ceremonies was Harris Allen, Milton Junction, president of the Fellowship.



KLEMENT

Although the state and its governors contributed wholeheartedly to the cause represented by President Lincoln, the speaker pointed to a strong discontent, expressed in many vituperative newspaper blasts by Democratic editors against both the President and his administration.

Loud Voice Quoted

One of the loudest of these voices was Marcus (Brick) Pomeroy, editor of the La Crosse Democrat, who gained national notoriety by his violent attacks on the wartime President. According to the speaker, Pomeroy called the President a "blockhead," a "flatboat tyrant," and a would-be dictator who had developed "bungling" and "experimentation" into an art. Poems and parodies also reflected Pomeroy's cynical views.

When Lincoln set aside Aug. 5, 1863, as a day of fasting and prayer, Pomeroy composed his own prayer in which he said, in blasphemous terms:

"Remove by death the present Administration from power and give us in their place statesmen instead of clowns and jokers—honest men instead of speculators—military ability instead of

conceit and arrogant assumption."

To Pomeroy the draft became a "humbug," the war a "cruel failure," and Lincoln "but the fungus from the corrupt womb of bigotry and fanaticism."

Calls Abe Traitor

When Unionists replied with charges of "treason," the speaker said, Pomeroy retaliated with the accusation, "Abraham Lincoln is the traitor."

Although Pomeroy's readers did not follow him altogether, and his circulation declined, he was not deterred, and when a second term for the President was forecast his La Crosse Democrat reached a new low with this diatribe:

"May Almighty God forbid that we are to have two terms of the rottenest, most stinking, ruin-working smallpox ever conceived by friends or mortals in the shape of two terms of Abe Lincoln." Pomeroy called Lincoln "the widow maker of the 19th century," and suggested an epitaph for the President's tombstone to read: "Beneath this turf the widow maker lies, little in everything, except in size."

Other Democrat Attacks

Dr. Klement cited other Democratic attacks.

The Madison Patriot, edited by Stephen D. ("Pump") Carpenter, called the President unprincipled and incompetent.

The Sheboygan Journal editor wrote, "Every shout of victory makes us feel sad and gloomy." He suggested satirically that Republicans prove their loyalty to the Lincoln administration by "drinking lots of coffee at 30 and 35 cents a pound." The Emancipation Proclamation was termed "a youthful indiscretion."

The Milwaukee See-Bote (German), edited by P. V. Deuster, asserted the administration's economic policies enriched the East

and robbed the West, and that abolition endangered the livelihood of the paper's readers.

The Green Bay Advocate called the Emancipation Proclamation a "political measure," dictated by military necessity, and declared the President to be "personally weaker than almost any man you will meet on the farm or in the street."

The Oshkosh Courier claimed that Lincoln's "political medicine" would "kill both the patient and the doctor."

The Watertown Democrat declared "the administration . . . is far more out of joint than the evil times upon which it has fallen."

Prominent Wisconsin political spokesmen took similar anti-administration views. They included Edward G. Ryan, later one of the state's greatest jurists; George B. Smith, Madison lawyer and attorney general, an acknowledged

Copperhead, and Abner Kirby, Milwaukee's mayor.

Respect Gained

In the end, the Marquette historian explained, all doubts were resolved in Lincoln's favor, and Lincoln gained the respect of his political foes, greatly heartening the rank and file of his own party. "The people whom Lincoln trusted," Dr. Klement concluded, "sensed that the charges of despotism and corruption were slanderous and out of character."

"Lincoln grew with the war; he was a party politician when he was elected in 1860, but he was a statesman when the war drew to a close. He never lost faith in the dark days when military victories were few and the cries of the Copperheads were loudest."

New officers elected to the Lincoln Fellowship are Dr. Walter D. Kline, Milwaukee, president; William B. Hesselstine, 4014 Manitou Way, first vice-president; Charlotte Kohn, La Crosse, sec-

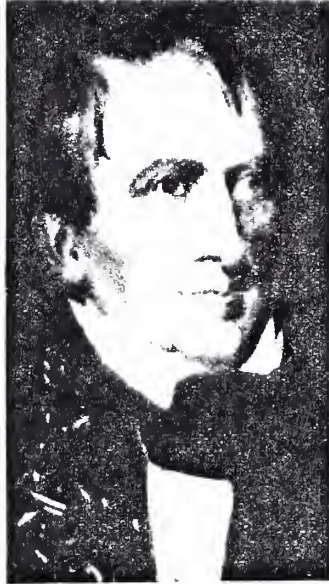
ond vice-president; James R. Duffee, 2125 Keyes ave., third vice-president; L. W. Bridgman, 1910 Kendall ave., secretary, and Margaret Smith, 134 W. Gilman st., treasurer.

2/35/55

The war clouds were gathering fast when Lincoln and Douglas, "The Little Giant," renewed their political battle in 1860. Nevertheless, the campaign had its lighter side, and many of its songs were replete with humor and caricature. Here is a Douglas libe at Lincoln:

*Tell us he's a second Webster,
Or, if better, Henry Clay;
That he's full of gentle humor,
Placid as a Summer day.*

*Tell again about the cord wood,
Seven cords or more per day;
How each night he seeks his
closet,
There alone to kneel and pray!*



From Goebel's "Life of Harrison."

Harrison, of "Tippecanoe" Fame.

*Any lie you tell, we'll swallow—
Swallow any kind of mixture;
But, oh, don't, we beg and pray
you—
Don't, for land's sake, show his
picture!*

And here, to the tune "Crampton Races," is the Lincoln supporter's reply:

*There's an old plow "hoss" whose
name is "Dug,"
Du da, du da day!
He's short and thick, a regular
"plug,"
Du da, du da day!*

CHORUS

*We're bound to work all night,
We're bound to work all day,
I'll bet my money on the "Lin-
coln hoss,"
Who bets on Stephen A.?*

Lincoln's Election Would Be Terrible Catastrophe, I. R. Diller Wrote In 1860

Presidential elections today may be regarded as "hot" but they aren't a drop in the bucket when compared with the bitter elections of the "old days."

In 1860 a comment such as "I have great faith in the saving grace of the American people to prevent such a terrible catastrophe as the election of Lincoln." was only one of the kinder remarks.

Such an expression was made by Isaac R. Diller, uncle of Isaac R. Diller, 511 West Carpenter street, when he was consul general at

Bremen, Germany under James Buchanan.

A friend of Stephen A. Douglas, opponent against Lincoln for the presidency of the United States, Diller was also an acquaintance and one-time neighbor of Lincoln's

Writing to Gov. Francis Perkins of South Carolina in a letter now in the possession of Frank E. Stevens, manuscript and book collector, he predicted that Lincoln wouldn't even carry the state.

Lincoln did lose the county but he carried the city of Springfield and

the state of Illinois. An excerpt from the letter follows:

"A word about politics. I am not an enthusiast but I must be permitted to differ with Mr. Faulkner about the political aspect of things. I presume I may be considered something of a judge of my own state, and I tell you Illinois is just as certain for Douglas as that the day of election comes.

"I know his strength there, and I think you will find Indiana voting for Hendricks for governor next Tuesday—that will give Douglas the state beyond doubt in November. As regards New York, I think the Douglas-Bell ticket will succeed—the Breckenridges there are like an almost empty bottle—the less there is in it the more noise it makes in coming out.

"Even should they vote a separate ticket which I feel sure they will not, that is the majority of them will not, they will not be able to defeat the Douglas-Bell ticket, and should they do so and thus give the state to Lincoln, they will be justly chargeable with the damage, for every one knows they are a mere faction as compared to the hosts of Douglas' friends in that state.

"My sincere opinion founded upon reliable letters and from the signs of the times, is that everybody and none more than the professed politicians are going to be astonished when the election is over. You may rest assured the people are not going to permit the election of Lincoln. I don't say it will be either Bell or Douglas by the people, but it will surely not be Lincoln. But I am decidedly in favor of the electoral colleges electing, and not throw it into the house to be decided by bribery and corruption.

"The electoral colleges are the representatives of the people and less liable to impure influences. After the election is over, and neither candidate has a majority of the popular vote, let the colleges meet and cast the vote of the country for the right man—even should it be necessary to go outside of the present ring.

"They are not absolutely obliged to vote for the men at the head of their respective tickets. It is unusual I know, but in unusual times it is necessary sometimes to do unusual things. If you have time I would be glad to hear from you again. Hope lives eternal in the human breast and I have great faith in the saving grace of the American people to prevent such a terrible catastrophe as the election of Lincoln.

"Sincerely, and always,

"Your friend,

"Isaac R. Diller."



